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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

USMISSION USNATO 1159
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0370
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//
CTF SIXTWO
CTF SIXONE
USEUCOM VAHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PINS](#) [MARR](#) [PHUM](#)
SUBJECT: ZAGREB UPDATE, NOVEMBER 25, 1991

1. (U) SUMMARY: PRESIDENT TUDJMAN WENT ON CROATIAN TELEVISION YESTERDAY TO DENOUNCE ALLEGED RIGHTIST AND JNA COVERT PLOTS TO BRING DOWN HIS GOVERNMENT. THE EVACUATION OF JNA INSTALLATIONS IN THE ZAGREB AREA HAS BEGUN, THOUGH NOT ALTOGETHER SMOOTHLY. SHELLING IN

OSIJEK WAS REPORTED TODAY. A CONTACT IN DUBROVNIK CLAIMS THE JNA AIMS TO PRESSURE THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OUT IN ORDER TO TAKE THE CITY. REFUGEES CONTINUE TO FLOOD INTO ZAGREB AND ELSEWHERE, AND STORIES OF HUMANITARIAN ABUSES ARE MOUNTING. END SUMMARY

TUDJMAN: "THE FINAL PHASE" OF THE BATTLE

2. (U) CROATIAN PRESIDENT TUDJMAN APPEARED ON CROATIAN TELEVISION SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 24, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ZAGREB 01658 01 OF 05 251748Z
TO DECLARE THAT "THE BATTLE" FOR CROATIAN INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION "HAS TAKEN ON DRAMATIC PROPORTIONS AS IT ENTERS ITS FINAL PHASE." TUDJMAN DISCUSSED HIS HOPES FOR A U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, SAYING THAT DIFFERENCES STILL EXISTED ON DEFINING THE "CRISIS AREAS" TO WHICH SUCH A FORCE WOULD BE DEPLOYED, AND WARNING THAT THE JNA AND SERBIA WOULD SEEK TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR TERRORITORIAL GAINS BEFORE THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCE COULD ARRIVE. HE ASSERTED THAT WITH THE WEST NOW READY "TO ACT MORE DECISIVELY, THE SERBIAN SIDE HAS UNDERTAKEN NEW DECEITS."

3. (U) TUDJMAN DEVOTED MUCH OF HIS SPEECH TO A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT HE TERMED "EVIDENT PROOF" THAT BOTH CROATIAN RIGHTIST EXTREMISTS, IN THE FORM OF THE CROATIAN PARTY OF THE RIGHT (HDS) AND ITS ARRESTED LEADER, DOBROSLAV PARAGA, AND THE INTELLIGENCE BRANCH OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY (KOS) WERE ENGAGED IN PLOTS TO OVERTHROW THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH TUDJMAN SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT PARAGA WAS BEING UNWITTINGLY USED BY KOS RATHER THAN BEING IN ACTIVE COLLUSION WITH IT. TUDJMAN CRITICIZED PARAGA AND HIS PARTY FOR REVIVING FASCIST SYMBOLS WHICH DISCREDITED CROATIA.

4. (C) TUDJMAN'S EXPLANATION OF HIS "EVIDENT PROOF" WAS NOT VERY SPECIFIC, AND WHEN WE RAISED THE ISSUE THE FOLLOWING DAY DURING A MEETING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ZAGREB 01658 01 OF 05 251748Z
WITH HRVOJE SARINIC, A TOP TUDJMAN AIDE, SARINIC CLAIMED THAT COLONEL MILE DEDAKOVIC, NOW UNDER ARREST FOR "UNDERMINING" THE DEFENSE OF VUKOVAR, HAD "CONFESSED" TO HAVING TIES WITH JNA

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 01658 02 OF 05 251749Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	DPR-01	EB-01
	CSCE-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03
	ADS-00	NRRC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SR-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	/062W		
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O 251747Z NOV 91
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0014
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC 0888
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 01658 02 OF 05 251749Z
USMISSION USNATO 1160
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0371
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//
CTF SIXTWO
CTF SIXONE
USEUCOM VAHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

INTELLIGENCE. (DEDAKOVIC IS AN ETHNIC CROAT WHO DEFECTED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO FROM THE JNA TO JOIN THE CROATIAN SIDE.) MOREOVER, THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT DEDAKOVIC WAS COOPERATING WITH PARAGA IN A PLOT TO OVERTHROW TUDJMAN AND HIS GOVERNMENT, SARINIC CLAIMED.

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PARAGA REMAINS JAILED

15. (U) PARAGA'S DETENTION HAS BEEN EXTENDED THIRTY DAYS PENDING PREPARATION OF THE CASE AGAINST HIM. PARAGA'S DEPUTY, MILAN VUKOVIC, WAS RELEASED OVER THE WEEKEND, AND IMMEDIATELY ANNOUNCED THAT HE, ALONG WITH PARAGA, WOULD CONTINUE A HUNGER STRIKE UNTIL PARAGA'S RELEASE.

16. (C) VIRTUALLY ALL OF CROATIA'S OPPOSITION PARTIES ISSUED STATEMENTS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ARREST OF PARAGA, ARGUING THAT PARAGA SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY POLITICAL RATHER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ZAGREB 01658 02 OF 05 251749Z
THAN LEGAL MEANS. AT LEAST SOME CROATIANS BOTH IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT ARE TAKING THIS STANCE OF OPPOSITION SOLIDARITY WITH A GRAIN OF SALT, HOWEVER; AS ONE JOURNALIST POINTED OUT, MANY IN THE OPPOSITION WERE CRITICIZING TUDJMAN ONLY LAST WEEK FOR NOT DEALING MORE FORCEFULLY WITH PARAGA.

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17. (C) THERE HAVE BEEN DAILY GATHERINGS SINCE SATURDAY OF ABOUT ONE HUNDRED PERSONS, INCLUDING SOME OF PARAGA'S ARMED TROOPS, IN ZAGREB'S MAIN SQUARE TO PROTEST PARAGA'S ARREST. THESE

PROTESTS ARE REPORTEDLY SLATED TO OCCUR DAILY UNTIL HIS RELEASE. TUDJMAN AIDE SARINIC CLAIMED TO US THAT "THE MAJORITY" OF THE FORCES LOYAL TO PARAGA (HE PUT THEM AT "LESS THAN ONE THOUSAND") ARE ACCEPTING INTEGRATION INTO REGULAR CROATIAN FORCES. MOST OTHER CROATIAN SOURCES CONSIDER THIS PREDICTION UNREALISTICALLY OPTIMISTIC.

PROGRESS ON UNBLOCKING JNA INSTALLATIONS

18. (C) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED NOVEMBER 22 TO EVACUATE THE REMAINING BLOCKED JNA "PEACE-TIME UNITS" IN CROATIA BEGAN OVER THE WEEKEND. CONVOYS LEFT PLESO, NEAR THE ZAGREB AIRPORT, HEADED FOR BANJA LUKA UNDER EC SUPERVISION. THE EC MONITORS SPOKESMAN TOLD US THAT THE CONVOY WAS FIRED UPON FROM CROATIAN LINES AS IT PASSED THROUGH KARLOVAC, AND WAS ONLY ALLOWED TO PASS AFTER EC MONITORS CONTACTED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ZAGREB 01658 02 OF 05 251749Z
CROATIAN NEGOTIATORS IN ZAGREB TO ASSURE SAFE PASSAGE. THE EVACUATION OF THE DUGO SELO BARRACKS WAS TO BEGIN TODAY.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 01658 03 OF 05 251751Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	DPR-01	EB-01
	CSCE-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03
	ADS-00	NRRC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SR-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	/062W		
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O 251747Z NOV 91
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0015
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC 0889
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 01658 03 OF 05 251751Z
USMISSION USNATO 1161
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0372
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//
CTF SIXTWO
CTF SIXONE
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

INAUSPICIOUS START FOR LATEST CEASE-FIRE

19. (C) ACCORDING TO EC MONITORS, HEAVY JNA SHELLING OCCURRED OVER THE WEEKEND IN KARLOVAC, ZADAR, AND OSIJEK, AND DID NOT STOP ENTIRELY WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW CEASE-FIRE EFFECTIVE NOVEMBER 22 AT 1800 LT. THE EC SPOKESMAN SAID CROATIAN FORCES DEMOLISHED THE MASLENICA BRIDGE (25 KM NORTHEAST OF ZADAR) THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 20-21, RESULTING IN SOME THIRTY DEATHS.

110. (C) DURING OUR CALL ON SARINIC AT THE PRESIDENCY MONDAY MORNING, SARINIC RECEIVED WORD THAT THE JNA WAS SHELLING OSIJEK. SARINIC CALLED DEFENSE MINISTER KADIJEVIC'S OFFICE TO PROTEST THE APPARENT CEASE-FIRE VIOLATION, AND LATER TOLD US IN DISGUST THAT THE JNA CLAIMED THE CROATIANS THEMSELVES WERE SHELLING OSIJEK.

SITUATION IN DUBROVNIK

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ZAGREB 01658 03 OF 05 251751Z

11. (C) SLOBODAN LANG, PRESIDENT OF THE CROATIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY AND A LONG-TIME CONSULATE CONTACT, HAS BEEN TELEPHONING US NIGHTLY FROM THE DUBROVNIK AREA WITH UPDATES. (HE APPARENTLY HAS ACCESS TO COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES BROUGHT IN BY ONE OF THE RELIEF GROUPS.) LANG SAYS THE JNA IS ATTEMPTING TO INTIMIDATE THE CIVILIAN POPULATION TO ABANDON DUBROVNIK BY USING A COMBINATION OF THREATS (LANG SAID YET ANOTHER JNA "ULTIMATUM" EXPIRED AT 1100 THIS MORNING), SHELLING, AND SPORADIC ADMISSION OF RELIEF VESSELS TO TAKE PEOPLE OUT. THE AIM, ACCORDING TO LANG, IS TO REDUCE THE POPULATION TO WHAT CAN BE CLAIMED TO BE "USTASI HOLD-OUTS" AND THEN TO TAKE THE CITY.

112. (C) LANG SAID HE IS CONCENTRATING HIS EFFORTS ON PRACTICAL MEASURES AIMED AT WINNING JNA OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN CONVENTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE JNA IS BEING ASKED TO ALLOW LOCAL WOMEN RESIDENTS TO ACCOMPANY THEM WHEN THEY ENTER HOMES TO SEARCH FOR WEAPONS IN AN EFFORT TO MONITOR THEIR BEHAVIOR. SOME TROOPS ARE DISCIPLINED, HE SAID; OTHERS, NOTABLY THE RESERVISTS, "HAVE NEVER HEARD OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND DON'T CARE." BASED ON HIS DEALINGS THERE, LANG BELIEVES THAT SOME POTENTIAL EXISTS FOR OBTAINING COOPERATION FROM MONTENEGRO TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF DUBROVNIK.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ZAGREB 01658 03 OF 05 251751Z

113. (U) ALTHOUGH LANG SAID HE HOPED ADEQUATE CONDITIONS COULD BE PROVIDED TO PERMIT THE CIVILIAN POPULATION TO REMAIN IN DUBROVNIK, HE

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 01658 04 OF 05 251752Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	DPR-01	EB-01
	CSCE-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03
	ADS-00	NRRC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SR-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	/062W		

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O 251747Z NOV 91
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0016
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC 0890

AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 01658 04 OF 05 251752Z
USMISSION USNATO 1162
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0373
 COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//
CTF SIXTWO
CTF SIXONE
USEUCOM VAHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

PROMISED TO TRY TO CONTACT EVERY AMERICAN
CITIZEN REMAINING IN DUBROVNIK AND TO SEEK
PRIORITY EVACUATION FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE.

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THE HORRORS OF WAR

14. (U) REFUGEES FROM VUKOVAR AND ELSEWHERE
CONTINUED TO POUR INTO ZAGREB OVER THE WEEKEND.
WE ARE NOW HEARING FIGURES OF 100,000 REFUGEES
IN ZAGREB ITSELF (THOUGH MOST OF THESE WILL
QUICKLY BE MOVED ELSEWHERE) AND AS MANY AS HALF
A MILLION IN CROATIA AS A WHOLE. THE REFUGEES
FROM VUKOVAR TELL WRENCHING STORIES OF MONTHS
SPENT IN UNDERGROUND SHELTERS, WITH DIMINISHING
SUPPLIES, NO NEWS OF THEIR FAMILIES, AND FINALLY
OF EMERGING TO FIND THEIR CITY COMPLETELY
DEMOLISHED AROUND THEM.

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15. (U) THE REFUGEES' MOVING TESTIMONY, THE
ABSOLUTENESS OF VUKOVAR'S DESTRUCTION, AND
CONTINUAL RUMORS OF ATROCITIES STILL NOT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ZAGREB 01658 04 OF 05 251752Z
UNCOVERED HAVE RAISED PUBLIC EMOTION ABOUT THE
WAR TO A HIGH PITCH. CROATIAN ANGER WAS FURTHER
STOKED BY THE BBC BROADCAST OF FOOTAGE FROM
VUKOVAR OF SERBIAN IRREGULARS MARCHING
VICTORIOUSLY THROUGH THE STREETS SINGING
(UNBEKNOWNST TO THE BRITISH CORRESPONDENT) AN
OLD "CHETNIK" SONG OF WHICH THE WORDS WERE
CLEARLY HEARD: "THERE'LL BE MEAT; THERE'LL BE
MEAT; WE'LL SLAUGHTER CROATS." THE JNA
ALLEGATION THAT CROATS HAD MASSACRED SERBIAN
CHILDREN IN VUKOVAR, PUBLISHED BY REUTERS AND
LATER RETRACTED, IS BEING CITED AS FURTHER PROOF
OF SERBIAN PERFDY.

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16. (U) AT THE SAME TIME, THE CROATIAN PRESS
HAS REPORTED AN ALLEGED MASSACRE BY SERBIAN
IRREGULARS OF 35 CIVILIANS FROM THE CROATIAN
VILLAGE OF SKABRNJA, NEAR ZADAR. ACCORDING TO
PRESS REPORTS, THE BODIES WERE TURNED OVER BY
THE JNA TO THE ZADAR MEDICAL CENTER, WHICH
ESTABLISHED THAT THE BODIES BORE SIGNS OF
"MASSACRE." THE EC MONITORS' SPOKESMAN TOLD US
TODAY THAT THE EC GROUP REGARDS THE CASE AS A
"SERIOUS ONE MERITING INVESTIGATION," BUT THAT
THE JNA HAS DENIED PERMISSION TO EC MONITORS TO
VISIT THE AREA.

17. (U) WE ALSO UNDERSTAND FROM THE EC
MONITORS' GROUP THAT EFFORTS TO CONFIRM THE
STATUS OF PERSONS MISSING FROM THE EVACUATION OF
THE WOUNDED FROM VUKOVAR'S HOSPITAL CONTINUE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ZAGREB 01658 04 OF 05 251752Z
ACCORDING TO THE CROATIAN PRESS, ONLY ONE FOURTH
OF THE WOUNDED WHO WERE TO HAVE BEEN EVACUATED
TO CROATIA HAVE BEEN ACCOUNTED FOR; THE REST,
INCLUDING THE DIRECTOR OF THE HOSPITAL,

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 01658 05 OF 05 251753Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	DODE-00	DPR-01	EB-01
	CSCE-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03
	ADS-00	NRRC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SR-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	/062W		
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O 251747Z NOV 91
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0017
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC 0891
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 01658 05 OF 05 251753Z
USMISSION USNATO 1163
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0374
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//
CTF SIXTWO
CTF SIXONE
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 ZAGREB 01658

SIPDIS

APPARENTLY REMAIN IN JNA HANDS.

18. (U) THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAS CALLED FOR
AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE AND
PUNISH "WAR CRIMES" AND VIOLATIONS OF
HUMANITARIAN LAW. THE SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM
OF ZAGREB HAS JOINED IN THIS PROPOSAL.
STEPHENS

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